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A Sabaean Goddess in Ḥaḍramawt and Some Peculiarities of Her Cult at the Temple Raḥbān (Site Raybūn)[1]

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Abstract: In the present article the author examines some distinctive features of the veneration of the Sabaean goddess Dhât Ḥimyam in the temple Raḥbân located at the site Raybûn in the western part of inland Hadramawt. The article is based on a selection of inscriptions discovered during the excavations of the above-mentioned sanctuary by the Soviet-Yemenite Complex Expedition in 1984, 1988–1990. Special attention is given to: the syncretism of Dhât Himyam and the Qatabanian goddess Dhât Ṣahrân, some of the functions of secondary deities subjugated to Dhât Ḥimyam, a re-interpretation of a votive object called *bḥt* dedicated to her, and the connection of this goddess with land property.

Key words: Ancient Yemen, South Arabian epigraphic documentation, Hadramitic and Sabaic languages, site Raybun in inland Hadramawt, Soviet excavations of Raybun in the eighties, inscription from the temple Rahban (Raybun I).

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Among the five supreme deities of Saba' usually enumerated in final invocations of Sabaic inscriptions, viz. 'Athtar, Hawbas, Almaqah, Ḏāt Ḥimyam and Ḏāt Ba'dān,[2] only Ḏāt Ḥimyam[3] was incorporated in the pantheon

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[2] See, e.g.: Robin 1996: col. 1156–1157.

[3] Main conclusions about the cult of this goddess based on the materials of the present article are included in: Frantsouzoff & Rossi 2023.

of another cultural-political area of ancient Yemen, following the terminology elaborated by Andrey Korotayev.[4] I mean the pantheon of ancient Ḥaḍramawt, more precisely that of Raybūn, where two temples of considerable size dedicated to this goddess were excavated in 1984–1991 by the Soviet Yemenite Complex (i.e. multidisciplinary) Expedition (SOYCE): Raḥbān (site Raybūn I, bld. 2–4, 7) and Na‘mān which in the 1st half of the 1st millennium BC bore the name of Kafas (site Raybūn V). In this paper a detailed analysis of several fragmentary and complete inscriptions from Raḥbān, which, with a rare exception, have not been published yet, is given in order to throw light upon new aspects of the cult of Ḏāt Ḥimyam.

It should be noted that Ḥaḍramawt until its conquest by the Ḥimyarite kingdom in the beginning of the 4th c. AD had never been subjugated to direct political control of Saba’, nor had it borrowed principal components of the Sabaean culture in contrast to Da‘mat, the earliest state (or rather protostate) on the Horn of Africa, which adopted the political system of Saba’ as well as its pantheon.[5] It was from the official religious cult reflected in Ethio-Sabaic monumental texts that the veneration of Ḏāt Ḥimyam spread among the indigenous population of pre-Axumite Ethiopia who transformed its name into Ḏāt Ḥamān.[6] The situation in ancient Ḥaḍramawt proved to be quite different. There is almost no evidence of the worship of Ḏāt Ḥimyam in Shabwa and in the central provinces of this kingdom.[7] However, its cult became very popular in inland Ḥaḍramawt situated on the periphery of the Ḥaḍramite cultural-political area. The existence of its temples is attested not only at Raybūn but also at Bi’r Ḥamad.[8]

It seems that at the dawn of South Arabian civilization Sabaean merchants and craftsmen, who were entering the local society of inland Ḥaḍramawt, brought their own deities with them. In contrast to Almaqah, the so-called ‘national’ god of Saba’, the goddess Ḏāt Ḥimyam was not directly associated with Sabaean political dominance. Certainly, there were other decisive factors, probably connected with her functions, which contributed to the adop-

[4] KOROTAYEV 1995: passim.

[5] ROBIN 1996: col. 1123–1124, 1157.

[6] In all probability, local centres of the worship of Ḏāt Ḥimyam are situated at the site of Feqya and in Dakhanamo (FRANTSOUZOFF 2006: 576, note 22–23).

[7] In the epigraphic documentation originating from these regions its name occurs only once: *[Ḏ]T/[Ḥ]MY[M]* is restored with certainty in the final invocation of Hamilton 2 A & B + Shabwa S/75/128, l. 2.

[8] SEDOV 1995: 105; FRANTSOUZOFF 2001c: 167, note 24.

tion of her cult in inland Ḥaḍramawt, especially in Raybūn, but they remain obscure.

Analysis of epigraphic documentation originating from Kafas/Na'mān (Raybūn V) demonstrates that the percentage of personal names attested both in Old Sabaic texts and in this temple's inscriptions dated from the so-called "ancient" palaeographic period (An.), i.e. approximately from the 8th–3rd cc. BC[9], is rather high.[10]

However, the most convincing argument in favour of the Sabaean presence in Raybūn at the beginning of its history was found in the temple Raḥbān. The complete dedicatory inscription SOYCE 673a-b (Appendix, No. 1; pl. 1) dated from An. 1, which consists of two blocks re-used in the south-eastern corner of the so-called 'new altar' of building 3, was undoubtedly compiled by a Sabaean. First of all, this inscription is dedicated to Almaqah; second, its author bears the personal name *YBḤR'L* and the patronymic *MHQM-m*, both typical for Old Sabaic,[11] and has a lineage name (*ḏ-GNZ-n*),[12] while in the onomasticon of Raybūn references to clans or lineages occur extremely seldom. Finally, the character *z*, which disappeared in Hadramitic monumental epigraphy,[13] is attested twice in this short text.[14] The discovery of SOYCE 673a-b does not necessarily imply the existence of a temple of Almaqah in early Raybūn, since some dedications to other deities occur, although rather seldom, in the epigraphy of Raḥbān. Among them there is an inscription dedicated to Sīn (Siyān or Sayīn),[15] which also goes back to An. 1 (SOYCE 1799 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 225; Appendix, No. 2). It must be noted that this 'national' god of Ḥaḍramawt corresponds in the Sabaean pantheon to Almaqah.

In addition, eight dedications to Ḏāt Ṣaḥrān (one of them on palm-leaf stalk) were discovered in Raḥbān (SOYCE 520; SOYCE 635 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I

[9] On dividing the history of Raybūn into periods and stages based on palaeographic and linguistic criteria see: FRANTSOUZOFF 2001d: 32–48; FRANTSOUZOFF 2007: 22–34.

[10] Among 69 anthroponyms of this temple, which go back to An., 12 (i.e. 17,4%) are also found in the Old Sabaic onomasticon (FRANTSOUZOFF 2007: 55, 57, note 93).

[11] TAIRAN 1992: 209, 234–235.

[12] This proper noun and even this root are attested for the first time in the onomasticon of ancient South Arabia.

[13] FRANTSOUZOFF 2001d: 50. However, this character was sometimes used instead of the *ḏ* in Hadramitic documents written on wood (see note 17 below).

[14] For the second time it appears in the name of the dedicated person *'L'Z* which in Hadramitic is always spelt as *'L'Ḏ* (see, e.g.: BEESTON 1984: 68: § H 2:2).

[15] On the transliteration of this deity's name see: FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 123–124, note 2.

no. 116; SOYCE 636+637 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 112a-e + no. 113a-c; SOYCE 777 = Rb I/84 bld. 2, lev. I no. 104a-c; SOYCE 1700 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 94; SOYCE 1868 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 299; SOYCE 2203 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 note 39 — see Appendix, No. 3–9; X.Rb-89 no. 7).[16] Under this local spelling (with *ṣ* instead of *ẓ*)[17] was mentioned one of the main goddesses of the Qatabānian pantheon Ḏāt Ẓahrān, whose temple existed in Shabwa in the 1st c. AD (Hamilton 8).[18] This deity was usually considered a Qatabānian counterpart of Ḏāt Ḥimyam.[19] Although this identification was based on the famous concept of the Divine Triad advanced by D. Nielsen which is now completely rejected,[20] the epigraphic documents cited above confirm such syncretism. From the chronological point of view, the texts from Raḥbān dedicated to Ḏāt Ṣahrān are distributed between the initial and final periods in the history of Raybūn: according to palaeographic criteria (see pl. 3–9) six monumental inscriptions go back to An. 1 and one to R. (Recent), i.e. to the 3rd–1st cc. BC (SOYCE 635). As for the document on palm-leaf stalk X.Rb-89 no. 7, the *terminus ante quem* for the level it originates in is the 6th c. BC. This dating ascertained on the basis of radiocarbon analysis corresponds well with the quasi-monumental nature of its script which represents the first step in the evolution towards minuscule writing. For the most part, these texts are fragmentary (SOYCE 520, 635, 1700, 2203) or very brief (X.Rb-89 no. 7) and contain no names, except that of Ḏāt Ṣahrān and probably that of 'Amm, the 'national' god of Qatabān.[21] Only in the following three cases the authors' personal names as well as their patronymics are extant: *YHR-m[/bn/]MLKKRB* (SOYCE 636+637/1–2), *MS²HR-m/bn/YRBḤ'L* (SOYCE 777/1–2) and *ḤṢBT/bn/HḌM-m* (SOYCE 1868). It is worth noting that among these proper nouns *YHR-m*

[16] The document on wood X.Rb-89 note 7 appeared first in: Bauer & Akopian & Lundin 1990: 168–173. It was reinterpreted in: Frantsouzoff 1999b: 55–56, 62–63, note 6–10.

[17] Besides that, in X.Rb-89 note 7/1 *ḎT* is rendered as *ZT* (Frantsouzoff 1999b: 55, 62–63, note 7).

[18] Although short preliminary editions of SOYCE 636+637 and 777 were published by Gleb M. Bauer (see Appendix, No. 5–6), he did not succeed in identifying *ḎT/ṢHR-n* with the Qatabanian goddess *ḎT/ẒHR-n*. Moreover, he and his colleague Avraam G. Lundin considered Ḏāt Ṣahrān to be simply one of the names of Ḏāt Ḥimyam (Bauer & Akopian & Lundin 1990: 172, note 9).

[19] See, e.g.: Jamme 1947: 107.

[20] Robin 1996: col. 1163.

[21] In X.Rb-89 note 7/1 (Frantsouzoff 199b: 55).

occurs in Sabaic[22] and Qatabanic,[23] *MLKKRB* — in Sabaic,[24] Minaic[25] and Hadramitic (RES 3869/2), *MS²HR-m* — in Sabaic[26] and Hadramitic (Raybūn-Kafas/Na‘mān 20/1), *HḌM-m*, — only in Hadramitic (CaTh 42; Raybūn-Kafas/Na‘mān 14/1, 184, 238, 244), while *YRBḤ’L* and *ḤṢBT* are attested here for the first time. Lower percentage of Qatabanian names is also typical for dedications to Sīn and ‘Amm discovered in a private house at Raybūn (Raybūn I, building 6). As Abraham Lundin has already remarked, the people who left these inscriptions did not appear to be of Qatabanian origin, but were undoubtedly influenced by the culture of Qatabān.[27] This conclusion also applies to the texts of Raḥbān dedicated to Ḏāt Ṣahrān. In all probability, at Raybūn, from the beginning of its written history until the definitive destruction of the settlement, there existed a group of residents involved in commercial contacts with the Qatabanian cultural-political area who were worshipping at least two supreme deities of Qatabān side by side with their local divinities.

One of the most interesting features of the cult of Ḏāt Ḥimyam at Raybūn consists in the existence of a kind of secondary deities subordinate to her. Of course, references to these genii are known outside Raybūn, but not in connection with this goddess.[28] However, the interpretation of the term *r‘bt* attested in two complete dedicatory inscriptions from Raḥbān as “healing spirit”, which was established on a meaning of derivatives from the same root in Mehri and Jibbali,[29] is to be reconsidered, since the epigraphic material testifies that the function of divine healer was peculiar to Sīn, not to Ḏāt Ḥimyam to whom no request for recovery from illness had been addressed.[30]

In the complete large inscription SOYCE 708 dated to R. (Appendix, No. 10), an allusion to mourning rites permits to assume that *r‘bt* played a

[22] Harding 1971: 689; Tairan 1992: 254–255.

[23] Hayajneh 1998: 355.

[24] Harding 1971: 569.

[25] Arbach 1993: I, 86.

[26] Harding 1971: 548.

[27] Lundin 1996: 91–92.

[28] On the contrary, in the expressions, such as *ḎT/ḤMYM/‘ḮTR/YGL* or *ḎT/ḤMYM/‘ḮTR/BS³R-m* in Qatabanic and *ḎT/ḤMYM/‘ḮTR-YGR* in Sabaic (Ja 618/35–36), Ḏāt Ḥimyam herself is reduced to the status of a secondary deity submitted to ‘Athtar (Frantsouzoff 2007: 65; cf. an alternative attempt to interpret them as arguments in favour of the existence of “sacred marriage” in ancient South Arabia in: Müller 1993).

[29] Frantsouzoff 1995: 19.

[30] Frantsouzoff 1997: 122; Frantsouzoff 2001a: 60.

certain part in funeral ceremonies. In the Hadramitic epigraphy the terms *rys*^{3} and *s*^{1}*wḍ'* (SOYCE 708/4), which appear to be crucial for a new understanding of this text, are attested once more only in the funerary inscription of ar-Rukba (SOYCE 903).[31] In the expression *[w-gr](b)/g<r>bt-s*^{1}*/rys*^{3}*-m* (SOYCE 903/3) the first of these terms was translated "in order",[32] but in contexts such as these it appears to designate different kinds of arrangements connected with funeral rites, from construction of someone's tomb to mourning over his death. In all probability, the occurrence of the causative stem derived from the root *WḌ'* — *s*^{1}*wḍ'* both in SOYCE 903/3 and SOYCE 708/4 can not be explained by a simple coincidence, albeit the relationship between a burial and a procedure of leading canals or drawing off water remains enigmatic. It should be emphasized that, in contrast to the obscure context of *w-{y}b{s}ḫ/s*^{1}*wḍ'-s*^{3} "and Her (i.e. Ḏāt Ḥimyam's) procedure of drawing off water was accomplished(?)" (SOYCE 708/4),[33] the expression *w-s*^{1}*wḍ'/s*^{1}*<r>-s*^{3}*y<w>* "and (the author) led its (i.e. the tomb's) two canals" (SOYCE 903/3) was interpreted without difficulty, but this reference to irrigation works in a funerary inscription seems strange.[34] Perhaps the presence of running water was considered a necessary component of funeral ceremonies.

The inscription SOYCE 1898 + 1897a-b + 1833a-e, which also goes back to R. (Appendix, No. 11), probably bears a certain relation to another function of *r'bt*. At first sight it is not clear from its contents what precisely this *'hnt* (poor or middle-aged woman) sought to ask from Ḏāt Ḥimyam and her genius *r'bt* through the mediation of Akrab son of Ḥamayhumū. The supposition proposed by Alfred Beeston "that some poor woman lacking the means for making an offering herself had asked him to do so on her behalf, and his refusal angered the goddess"[35] seems tempting. However, if we accept the interpretation of the expression *bn/ḫl/ṣdq-m* as "because of possessions duly bestowed as alms", it should result from this that, on the contrary, Akrab gave alms to this woman and such a charitable act nevertheless insulted the goddess for some obscure reasons: helping the poor in ancient Raybūn was probably linked with a complicated ritual that he unintentionally broke.

[31] Published in: Frantsouzoff 2003a: 251–265.

[32] Frantsouzoff 2003a: 253–255.

[33] The same meaning is attested for the substantivized infinitive *hwḍ'-m* in Sabaic, although in a fragmentary context (Ry 443/1: "écoulement"; cf. Beeston & Ghul & Müller & Ryckmans 1982: 157: "drawing off water, prélèvement *d'eau*").

[34] Frantsouzoff 2003a: 255–257.

[35] Beeston 1995.

The term *r ʿbt* is also restored with certainty in the fragmentary inscription SOYCE 1755 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 131 (Appendix, No. 12). In this case it occurs in a formula of absolution from sins after the verb *s³twr*. In spite of some lacunae, it follows from the context that this secondary deity subordinate to Ḏāt Ḥimyam claimed some property which probably ought to be delivered to the temple's treasury. This act of proprietary rights' transfer had to be commemorated in the inscription compiled by Ilraʿad, who was a priestess at Raḥbān.[36] It seems possible to advance a hypothesis that control over divine, or rather sacerdotal, property was one of the functions of *r ʿbt*.

There is at least one more fragment originating from Raḥbān which is concerned with some proprietary rights (probably in land): SOYCE 707 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 199a-c (Appendix, No. 13).

However, *r ʿbt* is not the unique spirit or genius of Ḏāt Ḥimyam attested in the inscriptions of Raybūn. The expression *ṣr ʿy/ḎT-Ḥ[MYM]* in Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 95/2 is also connected with this phenomenon. Unfortunately, the context it occurs in is very fragmentary, but some etymological parallels, especially with *aṣ-ṣar ʿāni/aṣ-ṣir ʿāni*, synonym of *al-ʿaṣrānī* ("the night and the day", "the forenoon and the afternoon, from the first part of day to midday and from midday to sunset", "the morning, between daybreak and sunrise, and the evening, between sunset and nightfall", "the two extremities of the day"), in Arabic[37] seem tempting and even imply again a possibility of ascribing to the goddess an astral nature.

Finally, in the temple Raḥbān a very interesting fragment of a stele was discovered (SOYCE 2228 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 64; Appendix, No. 14). It should be stressed that stelae are not typical at all for both temples of Ḏāt Ḥimyam at Raybūn in which inscriptions were usually engraved on slabs. On the contrary, in the temple Mayfaʿān dedications to Sīn, especially large ones, were rather often written on stelae.[38] Besides this peculiarity, restoring a normal dedicatory text from this fragment is completely impossible, since in the first half of l. 1 there is no space for the author's name and the verb *s¹qny*, not to mention the patronymic. To my mind, the only way of filling in the lacuna in l. 1 consists in admitting that this is a fragment of a divine decree found for the first time in Hadramitic epigraphy. Indeed, similar decrees issued by the god Ta'lab Riyām usually begin with formulae like:

[36] Franstouzoff 1997: 114–115, 123; Franstouzoff 1999a: 155.
[37] Lane 1863–1893: 4, 1679.
[38] Franstouzoff 1995: 17, 24, note 17.

ḫgn/k-wqh/T'LB/RYM-m/b'l/TR'T/b-ms¹'l-hw "According to what Ta'lab Riyām[um], Lord of Tur'at, commanded in His oracle" (Gryaznevitch 225/1).[39] We do not know what might have been the exact Hadramitic equivalents of *ḫgn* and *wqh* in this type of texts, but with some hesitation the restoration of *ḏt/ks³'(t)* can be proposed here. In the epigraphy of Raybūn this verb was used for describing commands given by deities to their worshippers.[40] At least in one case the orders of the goddess Ḏāt Ḥimyam are designated with the infinitive *ftḥ* (SOYCE 2213 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 49a-b; see Appendix, No. 15). However, personal forms of the same verb are also employed for rendering the directives of the priestess Ilra'ad (SOYCE 706 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I note 198a-f/5, 6).[41]

However, the most exciting feature of the fragment SOYCE 2228 is the unique occurrence of the expression *[..]<m>y/<Ḏ>T/Ḥ<M>|[YM]* (ll. 2–[3]). It is obvious that it refers to some spirits of the goddess, different from *r'bt* or *ṯr'y*. Unfortunately, no reliable restoration of their name can be proposed for lack of parallels. Thus, this decree was issued not by Ḏāt Ḥimyam alone, but jointly by the goddess and her spirits *[..]my*.

Besides *ftḥ*, some other terms were used for designating judicial decisions taken by the priesthood of the temple Raḥbān. Among them of special interest are derivatives from *ḎFḌ/S³FṬ*, which have been already attested in Sabaic,[42] more frequently in Minaic[43] and Qatabanic,[44] but not in Hadramitic. In the inscriptions of Raḥbān they are represented by the *t*-infix stem *s³tfṭ*, which occurs twice as a transitive verb probably meaning "to obtain a legal decision (from Ḏāt Ḥimyam or a priestess of hers)" and thus directly connected with the goddess (SOYCE 1674 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 66; SOYCE 2245 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 81 — see Appendix, No. 16–17), as well as by the strange form *s³fṭk* (SOYCE 2306 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 143; Appendix, No. 18). Its final suffix *-k* can be interpreted either as a perfect termination of the 2nd or 1st person in singular or as an attached pronoun of the same persons and in the same number. A parallel with the Ge'ez enclitic par-

[39] Larger formulae introducing divine decrees are also attested, e.g. in RES 4176 = Gl 1210/1: *b-ḫg/ḏn-mḥr-n/hḥr/T'LB/RYM/YRḪM/s²'b-hw/S¹M'Y/...* "Entsprechend diesem Erlaß, hat Ta'lab von Riyām Yurḥim seinem Stamm Sum'ay angeordnet..." (translated according to its last edition: MÜLLER 1997: 92).

[40] FRANSTOUZOFF 2003b: 43.

[41] FRANSTOUZOFF 1997: 122.

[42] BEESTON & GHUL & MÜLLER & RYCKMANS 1982: 150.

[43] ARBACH 1993: I, 98.

[44] RICKS 1989: 181.

ticle *-ke* “now, then, so then, thus, therefore, of course, indeed, ...”[45] is not excluded too. The 2nd person forms of both verbs and attached pronouns in monumental South Arabian inscriptions are attested with extreme rarity.[46] However, the occurrence of *...bs¹l/s¹'lk* “...a kind of food(?) that thou asked” in a fragmentary context (SOYCE 2224 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 60/2)[47] represents a forceful argument in favour of the identification of *s³fṭk* with a perfect form (2 sing.). The use of the verbal ending *-k* in *s³fṭk* and *s¹'lk* is one of the most peculiar grammatical phenomena discovered in the epigraphy of Raybūn. Its origin seems to be connected with the influence of epistolary formulae of local documents written on wood[48] upon the style of monumental inscriptions.

The epigraphic material analyzed in this paper demonstrates that, albeit the cult of Ḏāt Ḥimyam was introduced at Raybūn (and probably at some other sites of inland Ḥaḍramawt, like Bi'r Ḥamad) by Sabaeans, she was undergoing in the course of centuries a considerable transformation into a local deity and, as a result, acquired some attributes which had been unknown to her Sabaean prototype: e.g. some spirits or genii, viz. *r'bt*, *ṣr'y* and *[..]my*, became subordinate to her. They seem to take their origin from archaic divinities worshipped by the indigenous population of the region before the beginning of the first expansion of Saba'. It is not excluded that some functions of the goddess, which she was exercising with the assistance of *r'bt*, viz. protection of funeral ceremonies or control over proprietary rights, had been initially inherent to a local independent deity which later evolved into this *r'bt*.

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[45] LESLAU 1987: 271.

[46] BEESTON 1982: 14: § 5:2; BEESTON 1962: 44: § 37:2.

On the contrary, in texts on wooden sticks and palm-leaf stalks the use of the 2nd person is widespread (see, e.g.: RYCKMANS & MÜLLER & ABDALLAH 1994: 11, 29).

[47] The interpretation of *bs¹l* is here proposed with a certain hesitation by analogy with *mbs¹l* “cooking-place” in Sabaic (BEESTON & G□UL & MÜLLER & RYCKMANS 1982: 32) as well as with *basal* “to be well-baked (bread), to be cooked, to cook meat, boil”, *bisil* “to be done (food)” and *bāsil* “done (food)” in Yemeni Arabic (PIAMENTA 1990: 1, 31).

Among the inscriptions of Raḥbān this term is attested once more in a similar context: *...<b>-<b>s¹l/s¹t'nt/...* “...in (with or by) a kind of food(?) which she demanded as support...” (SOYCE 1600 = Rb I/88 bld. 4, lev. I no. 1/2).

[48] Although in both Hadramitic documents of this type from Raybūn published till now the 2nd person forms are not attested (X.Rb-89 no. 7 and X.Rb-87 no. 4; FRANTSOUZOFF 1999b: 55–65), there are good reasons for supposing that minuscule texts in Ḥaḍramawt were compiled in accordance with the same rules of grammar as in Naššān.

Appendices.

Publication of 18 inscriptions from Raḥbān referred to in this article

No. 1 (pl. 1a-b)

a

b

Pl. 1a-b. Inscription SOYCE 673a-b

Siglum: SOYCE 673a-b

Bibliography: BAUER 1995: 138, fig. 21 (publication of block 1 excavated in 1984); 149, note 52 (a brief reference to block 2 discovered in 1988).

Dating: An. 1

Text:

block 1	block 2
YBḤR'L/bn/MH#QM-m/ḏ-GNZ-n/	*hqny/'LMQH/'L'Z*

Translation:

Yabḥar'il son of Muhaqīm^{um} ḏū Ganzān dedicated Il'azz to Almaqah.

Commentary: in this article (especially notes 11–14).

N°2 (pl. 2)

Pl. 2. Inscription SOYCE 1799 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 225

Sigla: SOYCE 1799 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 225

Dating: An. 1

Text:

1. *GRWS^{2}-m/bn/T[B'K=]*
2. *<R>B/hqny/S^{1}YN*

Translation:

1. Garwaš^{um} son of Ta[bi'ka-]
2. rib dedicated to Sīn

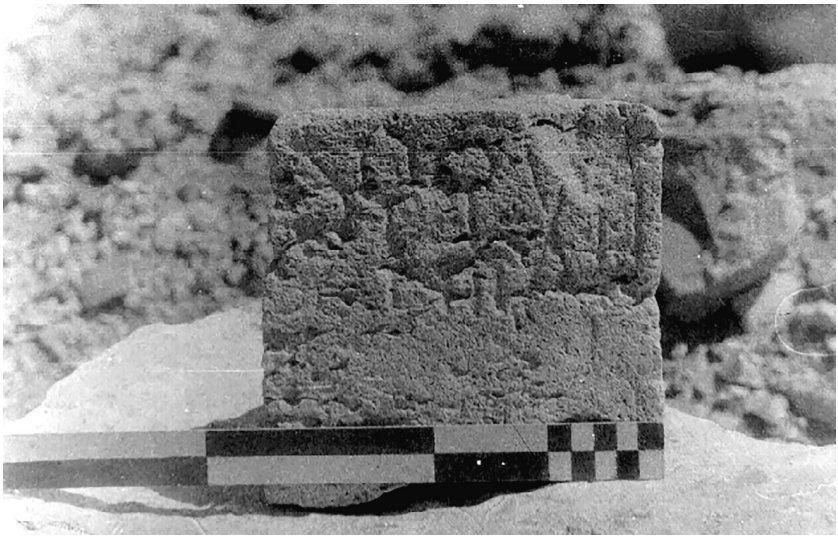
Commentary:

l. 1, *GRWS^{2}-m*: the first occurrence of this name in the epigraphy of ancient South Arabia.

ll. 1–2, *T[B ʿK]<R>B*: the restoration of this name, widespread in Sabaic,[49] Qatabanic[50] and attested once in Minaic,[51] seems the most probable, though it has not occurred yet in Ḥadramitic.

l. 2, *Sʾ YN*: in this article (note 15).

No. 3 (pl. 3)



Pl. 3. Inscription SOYCE 520

Siglum: SOYCE 520
Dating: An. 1
Text:
[.../bn(t)/.../hqny(t)/]<Ḏ>T-ṢḤR[-n]
Translation:
[Such a one, son (or daughter) of such a one, dedicated to] Ḏāt Ṣahr[ān]
Commentary: a different restoration of the beginning of this text is also possible.

[49] HARDING 1971: 128; TAIRAN 1992: 88.
[50] HAYAJNEH 1998: 306.
[51] ARBACH 1993: II, 131.

No. 4 (pl. 4)

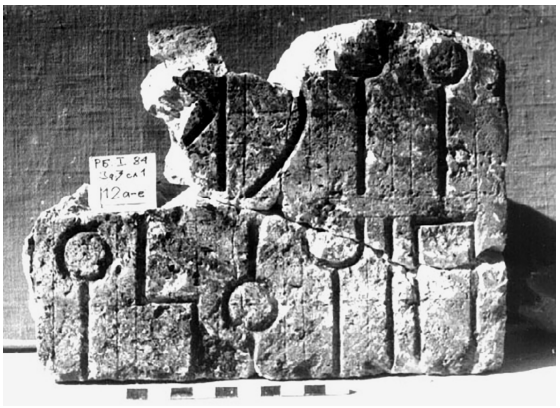
Pl. 4. SOYCE 635 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 116

Sigla: SOYCE 635 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 116
Dating: R.
Text:
1. *[..../bn/..../s¹qn]<y></>ḌT-ṢḤ=*
2. *[R-n/nfs¹-s¹/w-'ḏn-s¹/w-]wld-s¹*

Translation:
1. [Such a one, son of Such a one, dedica]ted to Ḍāt Ṣah-
2. [rān his soul and his will and] his children.

Commentary: in this article.

No. 5 (pl. 5a-b)



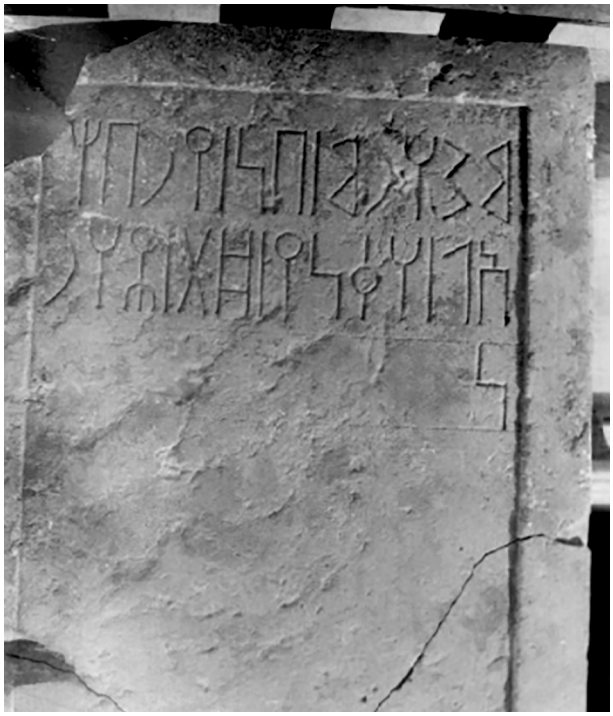
a

b

Pl. 5. Inscription SOYCE 636 + 637 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 112a-e + no. 113a-c

Sigla: SOYCE 636+637 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 112a-e + no. 113a-c
Bibliography: BAUER 1995: 120 (without photographs).
Dating: An. 1.
Text:
1. *YH<R>-<m>[/bn/]MLKKR*= Yahr^{um}
2. *B/hqny</>[Ḏ]T/ṢHR-n*
Translation:
1. [son of] Malkīkarib
2. dedicated to [Ḏā]t Ṣahrān.
Commentary: in this article (especially notes 18, 22–25).

No. 6 (pl. 6)



Pl. 6. SOYCE 777 = Rb I/84 bld. 2, lev. I no. 104a-c

Sigla: SOYCE 777 = Rb I/84 bld. 2, lev. I no. 104a-c

Bibliography: BAUER 1995: 120, fig. 4.

Description: complete text inscribed on the upper part of the stele broken from the bottom.

Dating: An. 1.

Text:

1. *MS²HR-m/bn/YRBḤ=*
2. *’L/hqny/ḎT/ṢHR-=*
3. *n*

Translation:

1. Mašhūr^{um} son of Yarbaḥ-
2. ’il dedicated to Ḏāt Ṣahr-
3. ān.

Commentary: in this article (especially notes 18, 26).

No. 7 (pl. 7)

Pl. 7. Inscription SOYCE 1700 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 94

Sigla: SOYCE 1700 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 94
Dating: An. 1
Text:
[..../bn(t)/..../hqny(t)/]<Ḏ>T-ṢHR-n
Translation:
[Such a one, son (or daughter) of Such a one, dedicated to] Ḏāt Ṣahrān.
Commentary: a different restoration of this text is also possible.

No. 8 (pl. 8a-d)

Sigla: SOYCE 1868 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 299
Description: complete inscription, partly damaged, on four vertical sides of a sacrificial altar decorated with a gutter in the form of an ox head.
Dating: An. 1
Text:
lateral side front side lateral side back side
*<Ḥ>ṢBT/bn/<H>|ḌM-*gutter**m/|<h><q><n><y></><Ḏ>T/Ṣ|HR-n*

a

b

c

d

Pl. 8a-d. Inscription SOYCE 1868 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 299

Translation:
Ḥaṣbat son of Ḥaḍam^{um} dedicated to Ḏāt Ṣahrān.
Commentary: in this article.

No. 9 (pl. 9)

Pl. 9. Inscription SOYCE 2203 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 39

Sigla: SOYCE 2203 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 39
Dating: An. 1
Text:
[1.] *[..../bn(t)/..../hqny(t)/Ḏ*T(/)]
2. *Ṣ*HR[-n]*
Translation:
[1.] [Such a one, son (or daughter) of Such a one, dedicated to Ḏāt]
2. Ṣahr[ān]
Commentary: a different restoration of the beginning of this text is also possible.

No. 10 (pl. 10a-c)

a

b

c

Pl. 10a-c. Inscription SOYCE 708 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 196a-d + no. 201a-b

Sigla: SOYCE 708 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 196a-d + no. 01a-b

Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 17–20, 25, note 24, 26; FRANTSOUZOFF 2015: 77–78, fig. 2.

Description: complete inscription on six rectangular slabs painted in red. Its left edge is slightly damaged.

Dating: R.

Text:

1. *MṢDQ-m/bn/QS³M-m#s¹qny/ḎT/ḤMY<M>/b=*
2. *ḥt-hn/ḏt/rḍwt/#ḎT/ḤMYM/ʿlh-s¹/b-ʿ=*
3. *br/ḏt/ynṩf-m/ʾ#b-s¹/QS³M-m/ḏ-ynw<ḥ>-*
4. *m/b-rys³-{n}/w-{y}b{ṩ}ḥ/s¹w#ḍʾ-s³/w-bn-mʾ<y>*
5. *QS³M-m/l-s³twr/ḏ-yfʾl#</>ḏt/ynṩf/h-<r>=*
6. *ʿbt/ḎT/ḤMYM#w-tḍʾ/MṢDQ-m/b-{ʾ}<ḏ>[n]*
7. *<Ḏ>T/ḤMYM/b-s¹ts³#b-m(/)h-s¹/w-b/rʾb-s¹/b[ḥ]=*
8. *hty/s²t#ʿr/w-ftqd*

Translation:

1. Muṣdiq[um] son of Qaśam[um] dedicated to Ḏāt Ḥimyam the expiatory act with which Ḏāt Ḥimyam was satisfied for his sake, be-
2. cause his father Qaśam[um] was performing rites, (he) who was mourning
3. according to the (funeral) arrangement, and Her procedure of drawing off water was accomplished(?). And from
4. Qaśam[um] may be remitted (fig.: And may Qaśam[um] be absolved from) that he wished ill, when he was performing rites, to the spirit
5. *rʿbt* of Ḏāt Ḥimyam. And Muṣdiq[um] committed himself to the will of
6. Ḏāt Ḥimyam by asking reward for himself and by his reconciliation the expiatory acts(?)
7. which he accepted and perceived.

Commentary:

ll. 1, 6, *MṢDQ-m*: the first occurrence of this name in the epigraphy of ancient South Arabia.

ll. 1, 3, 5, *QS³M-m*: this proper noun has been already attested as a personal name in Hadramitic (CaTh 54/1) and as a lineage name in Sabaic and Qatabanic.[52] Its variant without mīmation occurs in the onomasticon of Raybūn as a woman's name (SOYCE 1737 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 132a-b/1, 7).[53]

[52] HARDING 1971: 481.

[53] The beginning of this text is published in: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 18.

ll. 1–2: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 17–18 (on p. 17 *ʻlhns*^{1} is misprinted instead of *ʻlh-s*^{1}). Although the meaning ‘phallus’ proposed for *bḥt* first by Maḥmūd ‘Alī al-Ġūl (Ghul) mostly on etymological grounds remains dubious, researchers have failed to advance another hypothesis about the real nature of this votive object.[54] Its interpretation proposed here is founded on the final part of this text concluded with the formula “he accepted and perceived” (see below). Therefore, the term *bḥt* seems to denote in such a context some spiritual action, not a votive object of any kind.

ll. 2–4: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 19, 25, note 24. The translation of the passage after *b-ʻbr/dt* is to be changed according to the new interpretations of the terms *rys*^{3} and *s*^{1}*wḍʼ* given in the present article. It also seems probable that in this context the forms of imperfect with mīmation, which appears to play mostly a stylistic part like the energetic mood in Arabic, express the actions performed by the author’s father, while the predicate *{y}b{ṣ}ḥ* without the final *-m* relates to the subject *s*^{1}*wḍʼ-s*^{3}. It should be noted that in Ge‘ez the verb *bäṣḥa* means not only “arrive, reach”, but also “happen, occur, be accomplished”.[55]

Another case of offering a dedication in order to obtain an absolution for the author’s father is found in Rb V/91 note 61+52+54+62+67+60+53+57, ll. 4–5, 6–8 from Kafas/Na‘mān.[56]

l. 7, *b-s*^{1}*ts*^{3}*#b-m(/)h-s*^{1}: the lack of any derivative from the roots *S*^{3}*BM*, *ʾTBM* and *S*^{1}*BM* in Semitic languages, which would correspond, even to a small degree, to this context, suggests the idea to consider *-m* as an ending and *h-s*^{1} as a preposition with an attached pronoun.[57] It should be noted that the term *s*^{3}*wb* “repenting of sin” (or “offering”) occurs almost in the same position in the formula after *tḍʼ* in Rb V/91 note 61 etc. = Raybūn-Kafas/Na‘mān 148/10 (*b-s*^{3}*wb-h-s*^{1}*/w-r*< ’><*b*>*-s*^{1}).[58] The present interpretation of *s*^{1}*ts*^{3}*b-m* is based on the meanings of the *s*^{1}*t*-prefix stem (stem X) from *ʾTWB/TWB* in Arabic: *istaṯāba-hu* “he asked him to recompense, compensate, requite, or reward, him”,[59] *istatāba-hu* “he proposed to him that he should return [to obedience unto God], and repent of that which he had

[54] SIMA 2000: 298–299.

[55] LESLAU 1987: 111.

[56] FRANTSOUZOFF 1998a: 62–63. This text is re-edited under the siglum Raybūn-Kafas/Na‘mān 148.

[57] Omission of a separation stroke before the preposition *h-* occurs sometimes in the epigraphy of Raybūn (cf. Rb XIV/87 no. 104/3 published in: FRANTSOUZOFF 1999c: 37–42, pl. 2; FRANTSOUZOFF 2003b: 43, 53).

[58] FRANTSOUZOFF 1998a: 62, 63.

[59] LANE 1863–1893: 1, 362.

committed", "he asked him to return from sin, or disobedience", "he asked him to desist from his sin".[60]

ll. 7–8, *b[ḥ]|hty/s²t#'r/w-ftqd*: previously both verbs occurred exclusively after *bhl*.[61] However, this term has not been attested yet in plural. Although in Hadramitic the ending *-hty* has been attested only in forms of the external feminine plural in the construct state derived from concave roots like *bḥhty* in Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 92/3 (from *BWḤ*),[62] in Minaic nouns from "normal" triliteral roots display the same termination (e.g. *'ḏbhty*, *'rḍhty*).[63] The use of plural probably implies other sinful actions committed by Muṣdiq^{um} or by his father which are not mentioned in this inscription. As for the term *bhl* previously translated as "unfavourable oracle", its interpretation must be reconsidered, since it is difficult to realize how the oracles issued by a deity could be confided to the will of the same deity. Etymological parallels are of little importance for understanding this term: the general sense of the root *BHL* is obviously connected with speech, but its derivatives are distinguished by various shades of meaning.[64] The use of the expression *w-h-ynḫ'/b-ms³nd-|hn* "and let him repent in (or by) the inscribed stele" directly after *'l|hy/bhl/s²t'r/w-<f><t>|qd* in CIAS 95.11/p1, ll. 3–6 as well as the reliable restoration of *bhl* in SOYCE 1756 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I note 133/4 (*[b-bhl]</><f>tqd/w-s²t'r/FTḪ'L*) just before *w-trḍ{/}|[w/D]<T></>ḤMYM/ms³nd/wnḫ'-n* "and Ḏāt Ḥimyam was satisfied with (the) inscribed stele and the repentance" (ll. 4–5) permit to establish a close semantic relation between the noun *bhl* and *nḫ'* (attested both as a verb and as a noun).[65] The

[60] Lane 1863–1893: 1, 321.

[61] See the examples cited in: Frantsouzoff 1999c: 35–36; Frantsouzoff 2003b: 48, 50.

The unique exception from this rule is found in SOYCE 1737 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 132a-b/4: *[b]-'br/ḏt/s²t'rt/w-ftqd*. However, even in such a context the term *bhl*, although omitted, appears to be implied.

[62] Cf. Frantsouzoff 1995: 24, note 13.

[63] Arbach 1993: III, 13.

[64] Cf. *bahala-hu* in Arabic "he cursed him" (Lane 1863–1893: 1, 267), *bĕhlä* "to say, speak" in Ge'ez (Leslau 1987: 89) and a group of nouns formed from *BHL* in Modern South Arabian languages which mean "word" (Johnstone 1977: 16; Johnstone 1987: 45) or "thing" (Johnstone 1981: 24; Leslau 1938: 83).

[65] Although Maria Höfner in her commentary to CIAS 95.11/p1 correctly connected the root *NḪ'* with *NḪY*, her interpretation of the verb *nḫ'* as "gelangen", "sich wohin begeben" founded on etymological parallels with Ugaritic and Arabic cannot be accepted. At the same time the comparison of *nḫ'* in Hadramitic with *tnḫy* "confess, admit sin" and *tnḫyt/tnḫt* "confession of sin" in Sabaic (Beeston & Ghul & Müller & Ryckmans 1982: 95), *ntḫy*, *tnḫy* "confesser, reconnaotre un pŭchй" and *nḫyn-n* "confession d'un pŭchй" in Minaic (Arbach 1993: I, 67) appears to be justified.

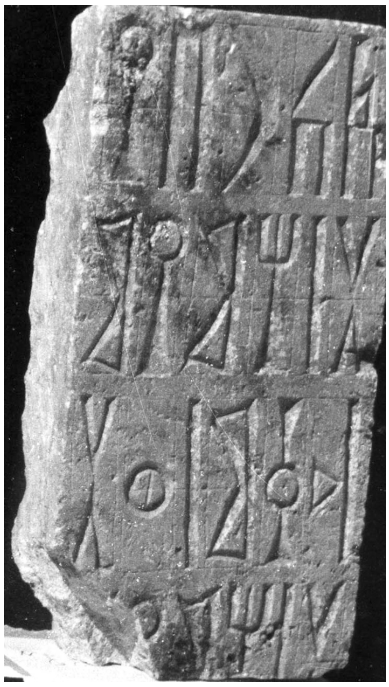
difference between these terms is not clear for the moment, but it is possible to suppose with hesitation that *nẖ'* designated a rite of repentance for sins as a ritual, as a succession of some actions, while *bhl* denoted a confession of sins in the strict sense of the word, i.e. an announcement (probably public) of repentance made by the sinner himself.

It should be emphasized that the restoration *b[hl]|hty* (instead of *b[ẖ]|hty* retained here) is not completely excluded.

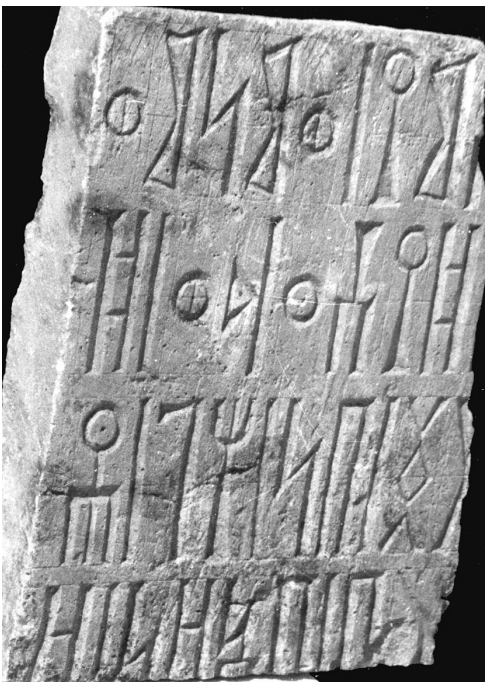
No. 11 (pl. 11a-g)

a

b



e



d

c

g

f

Pl. 11a-f. Inscription SOYCE 1898+1897a-b+1833a-e = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 291 + no. 261a-b + no. 260a-e

Sigla: SOYCE 1898 + 1897a-b + 1833a-e = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 291 + no. 261a-b + no. 260a-e.

Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 18–20, 22, 24–25, note 23, 25; FRANTSOUZOFF 2012: 88–89, fig. 85a-g.

Description: complete inscription on seven rectangular slabs painted in red, partly damaged. There are no photographs of slab 1 bearing the beginning of the inscription.

Dating: R.

Text:

1. *’KRB#/bn/ḤMYHMW/s¹qn=*
2. *y/ḎT/Ḥ#MYM/ḏt/RḤB-n/bḥ=*
3. *t/rḏw#t/ḎT/ḤMYM/‘lh=*
4. *n/’KRB#b-‘br/ḏt/s¹‘dw-*
5. *s³/’KRB#/ḎT/ḤMYM/w-r‘bt-s³*
6. *bn/‘hn#t#/s¹t‘nt-s¹/h-ḏ-y=*

7. *s¹t‘n-s¹#my/w-mn-mw#’KRB(/)y=*
8. *s³twr/#ḏ-ys¹ ‘dw/Ḏ#T/ḤMYM*
9. *w-r‘b#t-s³/bn/ḥl/ṣ#dq-m/w-t=*
10. *ḏ’/’K#RB/b-’ḏn/Ḏ#T/ḤMY<M>*
11. *b-r’b-#s¹/w-wl#d-s¹/r’b-s³/ḏ-yn‘=*

[12.] *[m]*

Translation:

1. Akrab son of Ḥamayhumū dedica-
2. ted to Ḏāt Ḥimyam ḏāt Raḥbān the (votive) phal-
3. lus(?) with which Ḏāt Ḥimyam was satisfied for the sake
4. of Akrab, since Akrab committed a hostile action
5. against Her, i.e. Ḏāt Ḥimyam, and Her spirit *r‘bt*
6. because of a poor (or middle-aged?) woman, who asked him for help in order that he should
7. ask both of them (i.e. Ḏāt Ḥimyam and Her spirit) for help. And from Akrab may be re-
8. mitted (fig.: And may Akrab be absolved from) that he committed a hostile action against Ḏāt Ḥimyam
9. and Her spirit *r‘bt* because of possessions duly bestowed as alms(?). And
10. Akrab committed himself to the will of Ḏāt Ḥimyam
11. by his reconciliation and his children the recon-ciliation with Her which may be favou-

[12] [rable].

Commentary:

ll. 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, *’KRB*: this personal name is attested only in the epigraphy of Raybūn (see Raybūn-Kafas/Na‘mān 180 and commentary).

l. 1, *ḤMYHMW*: the first occurrence of this name in the onomasticon of ancient South Arabia.

ll. 1–4: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 17–18.

ll. 4–7: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 19, 24–25, note 23. Similar syntactic constructions with the verb *s¹t‘n* (*s¹t*-prefix stem from *‘WN*) are attested in the epigraphic documentation from the temples of Sīn: Alīm in Shabwa and Mayfa‘ān in Raybūn.[66]

ll. 7–9: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 19–20, 25, note 25.

[66] FRANTSOUZOFF 2001a: 61.

l. 9, *bn/ḥl/ṣdq-m*: the noun *ḥl* derived from the root *ḤLL* has been attested only in Minaic (with two forms of pl.: *ʾḥll* and *ʾḥl*), albeit the sense "biens" attributed to it[67] is too vague. At the same time in the expression *ywm/(w)hb/ḥl/d̲-GRB* "quando dette aromi a dhū-Garab" (as-Sawda 17/3) its interpretation as "aromata" seems groundless.[68] It follows from this context, however, that the term designates a kind or a category of votive objects. It is worth noting that in RES 3285 = M 291/6 *ḥl* occurs with a verbal form derived from the root *ṢDQ*: *kl/mhn/yṣdq/ʾḥl-s¹m* "everybody who duly bestowed their possessions".[69] If we take in consideration that one of the meanings of *ṣadaqa* in Arabic is "alms", an interpretation of *ḥl/ṣdq-m* as "possessions duly bestowed (granted) as alms" is proposed with a certain hesitation.

ll. 9–[12]: FRANTSOUZOFF 1995: 22.

No. 12 (pl. 12)

Pl. 12. Inscription SOYCE 1755 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 131

[67] ARBACH 1993: I, 48.

[68] In as-Sawda 39/2 the same editor (Alessandra Avanzini) translated *(ʾ)ḥl-s¹m/b-ms¹[bʾ]* as "le loro proprieta lungo la stra[da]" in full accordance with the opinion of M. Arbach.

[69] This meaning of the verb *ṣdq* is attested in Sabaic (BEESTON, GHUL, MÜLLER & RYCKMANS 1982: 141), Minaic (ARBACH 1993: I, 93) and Qatabanic (RICKS 1989: 133).

A parallel context *kl/qny-m/hn/mh/k-ṣdq-s¹* (Maʿīn 7/8) corroborates a semantic closeness between the terms *ḥl*/*ʾḥl* and *qny* which undoubtedly means "possessions", "property".

Sigla: SOYCE 1755 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 131
Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 2012: 107, note 63.
Dating: R.
Text:
1. *[w-bn-mw]<R>'L-m/ys³twr/ḏ-y=*
2. *[...r ʿ]bt/ḎT-ḤMYM/ywm*
3. *[.../qn]y-s¹/b-qny/ts¹'l-s¹*
4. *[..../]ḏ-ys¹ṯr/s¹ṯr/'L<R>=*
[5.] *[ʿD/...]*
Translation:
1. [And from] Ra'l^{um} may be remitted (fig.: And may Ra'l^{um} be absolved from) that he
2. [(did something towards) the spirit *r ʿ*]*bt* of Ḏāt Ḥimyam, when
3. [he (added?)] his own [possess]ions to the pos-sessions she (i.e. *r ʿbt*) was asking from him
4. [...] that he engraved the inscription of Ilra-
[5.] [ʿad...]
Commentary:
l. 1, *<R>'L-m*: the first occurrence of this personal name. However, without mīmation it is attested in Hadramitic (Ja 2493c) and Qatabanic.[70] The Qatabanic woman's name *R'YL-m* obviously represents a diminutive of this proper noun.[71]
ll. 4–[5], *ḏ-ys¹ṯr/s¹ṯr/'LR|[ʿD]*: the first occurrence of the derivatives from the root *S¹ṮR* in Hadramitic. It is not excluded that Ra'l^{um} was obliged to engrave the inscription compiled by the priestess in expiation of his attempt to take possession of a sacerdotal property.

No. 13 (pl. 13a-b)
Sigla: SOYCE 707 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 199a-c
Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 2012: 107, no. 64.
Dating: R.

[70] HAYAJNEH 1998: 315.
[71] HAYAJNEH 1998: 315; SHOLAN 1999: 39, 76, 141.

a

b

Pl. 13a-b. Inscription SOYCE 707 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 199a-c

Text:

[1.] *[s¹=]*

2. *ns¹m/d̲-ṯb#n/ʻm-s¹/w-bn-m<w>*
3. *<D̲>ML-m/ys³#twr/d̲-ys³{l}/s¹n=*
4. *[s¹m]</><d̲>-yṯb#n/ʻm-s¹/<d̲>-<y><s¹><ʼ><l>*

Translation:

[1.] [(Ḏamal^{um}) made]

2. efforts to claim proprietary rights in his favour. And from

3. Ḏamal^{um} may be remitted (fig.: And may Ḏamal^{um} be absolved from) that he continued(?) to make ef-

4. [forts] in order to claim proprietary rights in his favour to what he was asking...

Commentary:

ll. [1]–2, *[s^1]|ns^{1}m*; ll. 3–[4], *s^{1}n|[s^{1}m]*: the first occurrence of this verb and even of this root in Hadramitic as well as in other Epigraphic South Arabian languages. Its interpretation is proposed by analogy with the meanings of the *t*-prefix stem of this verb in Arabic: *tanassama šay'an* "he sought, or endeavoured to get, or attain, a thing, with labour and perseverance".[72]

l. 2, *ḏ-ṯbn/ʿm-s^1*; l. 4, *ḏ-yṯbn/ʿm-s^1*: cf. *ṯbn*, *hṯbn* "to claim proprietary rights *in land*" in SABAIC,[73] *ṯbn* "propriétaire, propriété" in Minaic.[74] This specific meaning of the preposition *ʿm* has been already attested in SOYCE 706/6 originating from the same building of Raḥbān.[75]

l. 3, *<Ḏ>ML-m*: the first occurrence of this name in the epigraphy of ancient South Arabia. However, the man's name *ZMLY* derived from the same root (*ḎML*/*ZML*) is attested in Hadramitic (Ja 981).

ys^3{l}: cf. the expression *w-wṯl/yṯl* in RF-Alīm 1/8 in which this verb was translated "to continue" with a certain hesitation.[76]

No. 14 (pl. 14)

Sigla: SOYCE 2228 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 64

Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 2012: 105, note 51.

Description: left upper part of the stele broken from the bottom and on the right. From the top the stele is decorated with a symbol consisting of a disk and a crescent and with an ornament of denticles and horizontal stripes (on the left).

Dating: R.

[72] Lane 1863–1893: 8, 3032.

[73] BEESTON & GHUL & MÜLLER & RYCKMANS 1982: 152.

[74] ARBACH 1993: I, 100.

[75] FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 122.

[76] ROBIN & FRANTSOUZOFF 1999: 160.

Pl. 14. Inscription SOYCE 2228 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 64

Text:

1. *[d̲t/ks[3]'(t) (?)/Ḏ]<T>/ḤM{/}YM/d̲t*
2. *[RḤB-n/w-..]<m>y/<Ḏ>T/Ḥ<M>=*

[3.] *[YM/...]*

Translation:

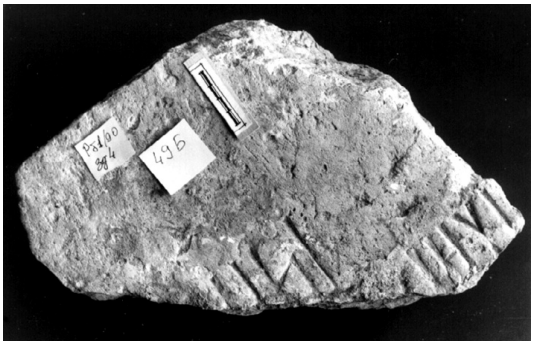
1. [That is what ordered] Ḏāt Ḥimyam d̲āt
2. [Raḥbān and the spirit(s)..]*my* of Ḏāt Ḥim-

[3.] [yam...]

Commentary: in this article.

No. 15 (pl. 15a-b)

a



b

Pl. 15a-b. Inscription SOYCE 2213 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 49a-b

Sigla: SOYCE 2213 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 49a-b

Description: complete slab split in two adjacent fragments and damaged from all sides. Three last lines of an inscription are engraved on it.

Dating: R.

Text:

1. *t’ḏn/w-ftḥ/*
2. *ḎT/ḤMYM#/ḏ<t>*
3. *RḤB-#n/*

Translation:

1. (what?) allows and commands
2. Ḏāt Ḥimyam ḏāt
3. Raḥbān.

Commentary:

l. 1, *t'ḏn/w-ftḥ*: the first verb is in the imperfect (3 f. sing.), the second is represented by the infinitive which in Hadramitic is graphically indistinguishable from the basic form of the perfect (3 m. sing.). In Sabaic "in any series of two or more closely coordinated verbs, it is normal for only the first to be a finite form, while the succeeding ones are infinitives".[77] It seems that this phenomenon was widespread in other Epigraphic South Arabian languages too, but the lack of the infinitival suffix *-n* in them presents a serious obstacle to its identification. However, in this context the series consisting of a finite verb and an infinitive is attested for the second time in Hadramitic.[78]

No. 16 (pl. 16)

Pl. 16. Inscription SOYCE 1674 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 66

Sigla: SOYCE 1674 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 66
Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 2012: 106, no. 57.
Dating: R.

[77] BEESTON 1984: 22: § 8:2.

[78] In the expression *[b]-'br/ḏt/s²t'rt/w-ftqd* (SOYCE 1737 = Rb I/88 passage, lev. I no. 132a-b/4) cited above in the commentary to No. 10/7–8 the finite verb is in the perfect (3 f. sing.).

Text:

1. *...r/k-s²tw‘/S³[‘D’L/...]*
2. *...</><s³>tf̣-s³/’w/’mt-s³/...*
3. *[.../w-bn-mw/S³‘D’L/(h-/l-/y)s³]<t>wr/ḏw/ys²w‘/‘m</>...*

Translation:

1. ...when Ś[a‘d’il] married...
2. ...he obtained a legal decision from Her or from Her servant (i.e. priestess)...
3. [...And from Śa‘d’il may be remi]tted (fig.: [...And may Śa‘d’il be abso]lved from) that he got married to...

Commentary:

l. 1, *s²tw‘*; l. 3, *ys²w‘*: the translation of both verbal forms (perfect of the *t*-infix stem and imperfect of the ground stem) is based on the occurrence of the noun *s²w‘t* “spouse” in al-‘Oqm/1977/2, SOYCE 706/6 and SOYCE 705 = Rb I/84 bld. 3, lev. I no. 197a-e/4–5 (FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 116). It is ascertained that one of the functions of Ḏāt Ḥimyam consisted in regulating conjugal relations.[79] However, another interpretation of these verbs connected with the meaning of *s²w‘* “to do service, perform due service obligations for *overlord &c*” attested in Sabaic[80] and Hadramitic (in the texts of al-‘Uqla) is not completely excluded.

S³[‘D’L]: this personal name is attested only in Hadramitic (Bāquṭfa 23, 46, 50/2). Another restoration of this lacuna is also possible.

l. 2, *<s³>tf̣-s³/’w/’mt-s³*: in this article (especially notes 40–42).

l. 3, *ḏw/ys²w‘*: the form *ḏw* of the relative pronoun of 3 m. sing. has been already attested in Hadramitic (SOYCE 705/3; SOYCE 706/5).[81]

No. 17 (pl. 17)

Sigla: SOYCE 2245 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 81

Dating: R.

Text:

1. *...</>bn/R...*
2. *...(n)/hyf</>...*
3. *...[s³]tf̣/Ḏ[MYM]...*
4. *...<Ḥ>Ḍ<M>[T]...*

[79] FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 122–123.

[80] BEESTON & GHUL & MÜLLER & RYCKMANS 1982: 135–136.

[81] FRANTSOUZOFF 1997:116.

Pl. 17. Inscription SOYCE 2245 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 81

Translation:

1. (Such a one) son of R...
2. ...misfortune(?)...
3. ...[(he) o]btained a legal decision from Ḏāt Ḥi[myam]...
4. ...Ḥaḍram[awt]...

Commentary:

l. 2, *hyf*: cf. FRANTSOUZOFF 2001a: 65.

l. 3, *[s³]tfṭ/ḎT/Ḥ[MYM]*: in this article.

l. 4, *<Ḥ>ḌR<M>[T]*: the first and unique occurrence of this ethnic name and toponym in the epigraphy of Raybūn.

No. 18 (pl. 18)

Sigla: SOYCE 2306 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 143

Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 123; FRANTSOUZOFF 1999a: 153; FRANTSOUZOFF 2000a: 309; FRANTSOUZOFF 2000b: 263.

Description: inscribed rectangular slab re-used in the pavement of building 4. Its right edge and lower left corner are slightly damaged.

Dating: R.

Pl. 18. SOYCE 2306 = Rb I/90 bld. 4 no. 143

Text:

1. *s³fṭk/b-''mr/h-'ḫhy/'=*
2. *s³t-n/w-'l/ṣdq/S²RḤ'L/m=*
3. *'mrt/'mrt-s¹/'LF'L/w-*
4. *tnw'-s¹/ḎT/ḤMYM/b-m'<d>*

[5.] *[ḎT/ḤMYM/...]*

Translation:

1. thou took a legal decision on account of construction works(?) for the brothers of
2. the wife. And Sharaḥ'il did not fulfill the or-
3. ders that Ilfa'al gave to him. And
4. Ḏāt Ḥimyam demanded from him on the festival

[5.] [of Ḏāt Ḥimyam...]

Commentary:

l. 1, *s³fṭk*: in this article.

''mr: this interpretation proposed on the basis of two derivatives from *'MR* in an inscription originating from the same building (SOYCE 1850+ 1866+1895 = Rb I/89 bld. 4, lev. I no. 279 + no. 297 + no. 306a-b/6, 9)[82] remains dubious because of this root's polysemy.

[82] FRANTSOUZOFF 2001b: 130, 131.

ll. 1–2, *'|s³t-n*: this noun is attested in SOYCE 705/4 (FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 116).

l. 2, *ṣdq*: cf. one of the meanings of this verb in the ground, causative and *t*-infix stems in Sabaic.[83]

S²RḤ'L: this personal name occurs in inscriptions written in all Epigraphic South Arabian languages.[84]

ll. 2–3, *m|'mrt/'mrt-s¹/'LF'L*: this passage is interpreted in: FRANTSOUZOFF 1997: 123. Ilfa'al was a priestess of Ḏāt Ḥimyam, like Ilra'ad.[85]

ll. 3–4, *w-|tnw'-s¹/ḎT/ḤMYM*: cf. commentary to Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 213/5–6.

ll. 4–[5], *b-m'<d>|[ḎT/ḤMYM]*: cf. *ywm/m'd[/]<S¹><Y>N* "on the day of the festival of Sīn" (SOYCE 2075 = Rb XIV/89 no. 221/2).[86]

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[83] BEESTON & GHUL & MÜLLER & RYCKMANS 1982: 141.

[84] HARDING 1971: 345.

[85] FRANTSOUZOFF 2001b: 131.

[86] In its first edition this expression was misinterpreted as "when Sīn gave promise" (FRANTSOUZOFF 1998b: 134, 136–137).

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Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān – FRANTSOUZOFF 2001(d);
Raybūn-Kafas/Na'mān — FRANTSOUZOFF 2007;
RF-Alīm 1 — ROBIN & FRANTSOUZOFF 1999.

As for the texts from Raybūn designated with SOYCE and Rb, their editions (if any) are referred to in the present paper or in its enclosed Appendices.